1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

621 **The Settlement.** The political unit of Barama society is the settlement, and its basic principle is the common locality of its members. Settlements vary among themselves in size from seven to seventy individuals. A typical settlement is analyzed in detail in the following chapter on Sawari. Factors which determine membership in this group are kinship, friendship, marriage, and accident of birth. Termination of membership is by individual choice, sentiment of the community antagonistic to the individual in question, death, and non-social reasons such as exhaustion of the soil and of the hunting grounds. Each settlement is presided over by a headman whose authority is decidedly limited and dependent upon the force of his personality or physical strength. The headman is generally chosen by acclaim for life, or for the existence of the settlement, by the adult men of the group. Community affairs are decided informally, in conversation among the adult men when they are together during drinking sprees. Thorough discussion of the various functions of the settlement may be found in the chapter on the Settlement of Sawari.

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103 The settlement is usually called by the name of the creek nearest its location. The names of the principal settlements on the Barama are herewith given, with their literal translations.

Aranka — orange
Barama — no meaning
Huri — a fish (*Hoplias malabaricus*)
Kariako — a small deer
Kokerit — a palm tree (*Maximiliana regia*)
Kurasani — an old man went fishing late in the afternoon and saw something in the water. He ducked into the water saying the word "kurasani" as an exclamation of surprise. It has no other meaning, but since that time the creek near where this occurred has been called Kurasani. It is claimed that he saw a supernatural ant-bear which is called tamanua.
Kwamata — bamboo
Kurewa — a leguminous plant which grows in second-growth jungle
Massawini — bright (clear) water, shining water
Parapimai — from parapi, plate; a man dropped a plate in the water and named the creek accordingly
Sawari — a nut-bearing tree (*Caryocar Pekea tuberculosa*)
Sineparu — a bush rope

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Takatu — white water
Tasawini — clear water (puristically: tasiyainye)
Teki — green (creek)
Turingbang — thundering noises from the ground (refe g to rumble of the river or of a rapids at this point)
Wanamu — large turtle
Waramaishuru — mokru creek
Yakaishuru — kasi fish creek
Korotoko — chicken
Haiari — a fish poison (*Lonchocarpus* sp.)

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Groups of Friends. Friendship is a strong factor in the social life of both men and women. Regardless of home, kinship, or settlement, individuals are often especially intimate with other individuals for no other reason than personal congeniality. For practical purposes this form of grouping often lies within the settlement, although I know of cases of men making rather extended tours to visit distant friends. There are always groups of men friends who go hunting together, who build canoes together, tell jokes together, and so on. The same sort of thing is true among the women, who, however, due to modified matrilocal marriage, tend to choose their friends from among their relatives to a greater extent than do the men. In the matters of lending, assistance in work, and sociability, friendship plays at least as large a functional part as does mere kinship, which, when it stands alone, implies for the most part, as among ourselves, rights and duties frequently less vital than those of friendship. The difference of course lies in the fact that friendships may be terminated when for any cause the congeniality essential to them disappears, whereas kinship ties exist in a stronger or weaker condition for life.

794

The Kanaima Cult. One of the most intriguing forms of organization is the secret kanaima cult, which will be discussed in some detail in our section on Crime and Punishment. In some form or other it has been reported from many of the Indian tribes of Guiana, without reference to linguistic divisions. From the social point of view the membership of the cult, if such actually exists, represents an important, though perhaps temporary, division of the population, a group which is, however, outside the limits of nor-

OF BRITISH GUIANA

SAWARI

After five or six days of paddling up the Barama from the Great Falls at Towakaima, a river party watching for such things may see an opening in the underbrush on the right bank of the river. Near it on the ground, a woodskin will be lying bottom up among the bushes; cutlass slashes disfigure the bark of the nearby trees, and perhaps the pole of a set-line will be protruding from the water. Coming down to the water's edge is a path stippled with the prints of many bare toes. 621

In the arduous journey from the Falls only two other such signs of human life will have been seen the landings of the Kurewa and of the Kwamata settlements. And the traveller, who in this unmapped region relies upon the sketchy reports of the Caribs, will hope that this is one of the landings of the village of Sawari. As a matter of fact, it is.

Going ashore, the newcomers will follow the trail inland for perhaps a mile and, if not led astray by the numerous diverging paths in the dense jungle, will in due time arrive at a clearing where the ballidanna thatches of half a dozen Indian houses face the open sky. The houses seem to lie in the bottom of a green crater, for the wall of the jungle rises abruptly to a height of eighty to a hundred feet on all sides of the clearing, which is roughly elliptical in shape, two hundred and six feet long by one hundred and thirty-six feet wide.

Visitors "knock at the door" of a strange settlement by striking the mora trees along the path with their cutlasses. Apprised of the approach of strangers by these warning booms and by the barking of the settlement dogs, men and women of Sawari, clad only in loin cloths, will be waiting outside their houses to receive.

John Miller, the headman, a tall virile fellow with little blood- 609
shot eyes and a crooked left arm, long ago reduced to a mass of 142
scars by the shotgun of a jealous Carib husband, will probably 621
be there, surrounded by the three women of his household. Old Mary, toothless and wrinkled, with black hair streaming about her leathery shoulders and flap-like breasts, will stare unemotionally. Elizabeth, young, buxom, well rounded, and smooth-skinned, will perhaps linger modestly but inquisitively in the background, fingering the brass pin whose point projects outward a half inch

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

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from her perforated under lip. Charlotte, who is a young girl but recently come to adolescence, may walk about the new-comers with naive curiosity. Old David, the medicine man, with the elbow

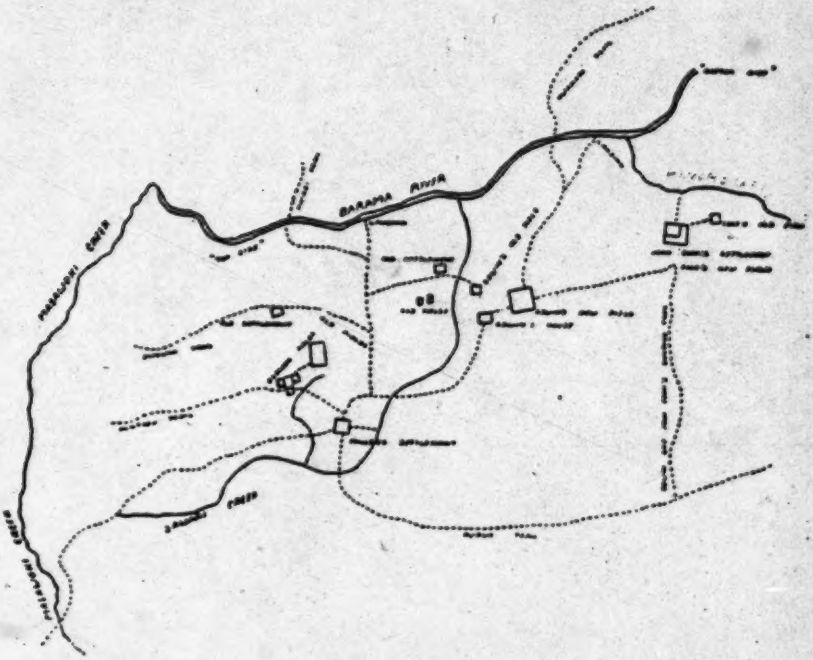

FIGURE 9

Sketch plan of the geographical relationships of the Sawari settlement, showing location of various residential plots, fields, and trails.

of his paralyzed right arm grasped in his left palm, will emerge from his small house north of Miller's large one, smiling slightly as a drop of water trickles down his wrinkled cheek from his rheumy right eye. With him will be his wife, Elizabeth, whose flat exhausted breasts afford the only indication of the encroach-

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

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ment of old age on a sturdy body. Columbus, a husky young man, and his wife, who has not yet reached puberty; small-boned, muscular Samuel and his large buxom wife Elizabeth, who is Miller's

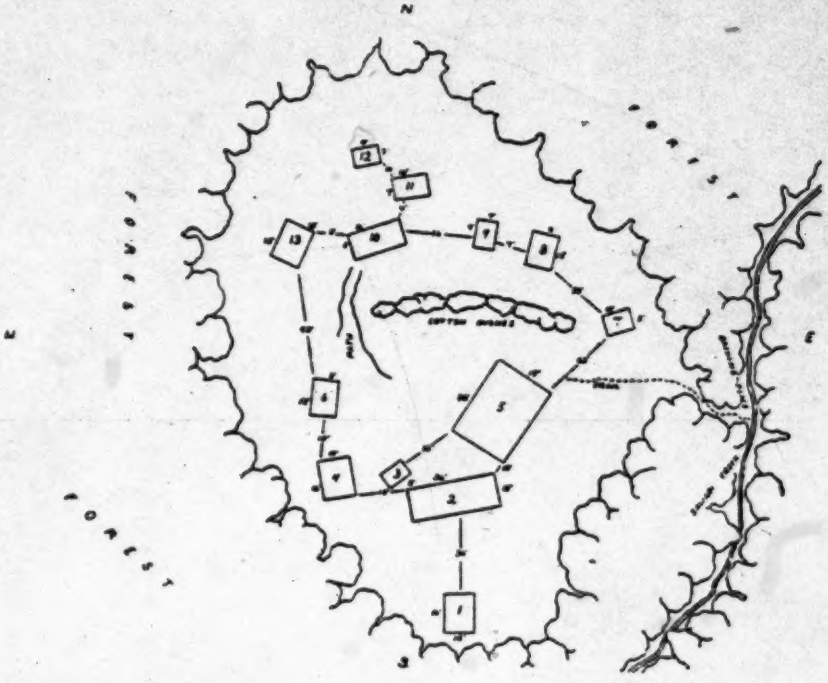

FIGURE 10

Sketch plan of "Miller's Clearing," Sawari settlement.

sister; sprightly middle-aged Caroline, another sister of Miller, and many little naked boys and girls will be in the welcoming party.

While the visitors and the Sawari people are smoking and exchanging small talk, someone will have slipped out to the other

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

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two clearings of the settlement with the news, for in a short time raw-boned John Cook will appear in his ragged bathing trunks, the end product of a complicated series of trading deals starting

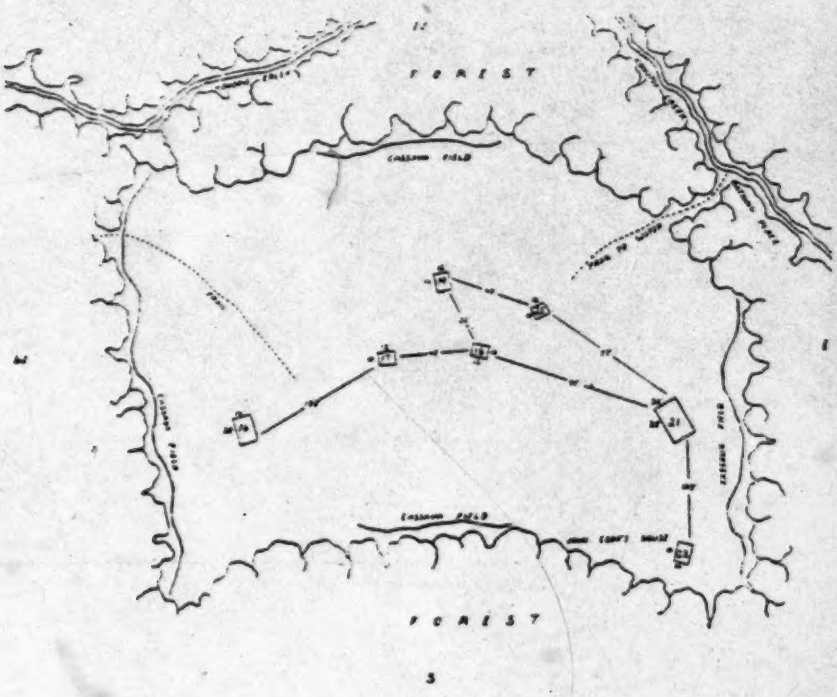

FIGURE 11

Sketch plan of "Edwin's Clearing," Sawari settlement.

at the coast. Big Edwin will lumber in, his slightly crossed eye focused at ambiguous points in the atmosphere. The young buck, Henry Daniel, Daniel and John, who live in John Cook's clearing, and a dozen wives and children will appear. Everyone will go

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

to John Miller's house, the biggest in the settlement. Men will climb into hammocks or sit on stools and logs about the floor. Women will gather at the other end of the house and look on

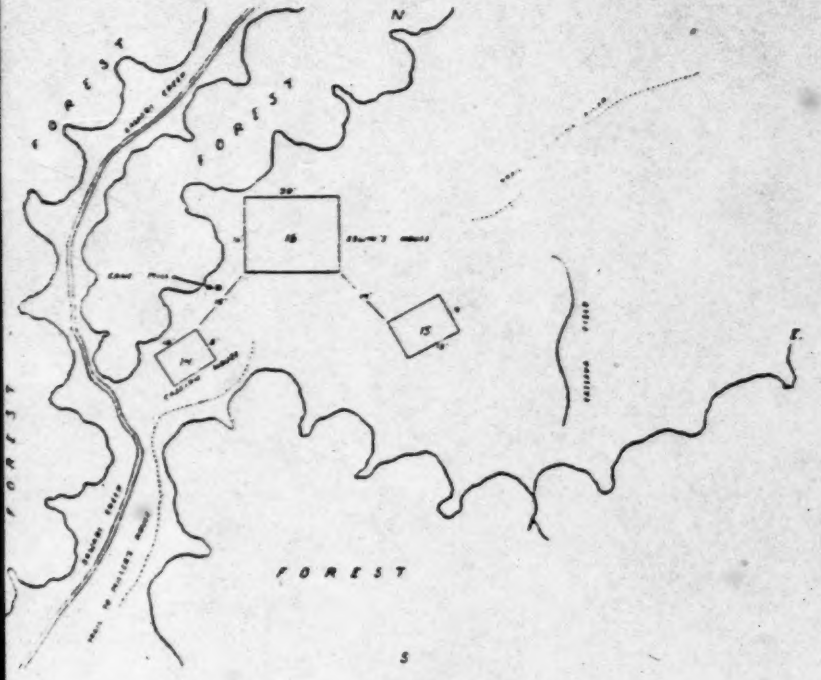

FIGURE 12
Sketch plan of "Cook's Clearing," Sawari settlement.

inquiringly from the distance. Even the children will be smoking the visitor's tobacco, earning it by carrying glowing fire-sticks from the fire under the pot in the corner. A long time will be spent in talking. . . .

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

621 162 **External Contacts of the Settlement.** The Sawari settlement, with a population of twenty-six adults and twenty-one children, includes three residential clearings and several associated agricultural fields or gardens. As can be seen from Figure 9, a nearly straight line running from northeast to southwest can be drawn through the three clearings where the people live. The clearing occupied by John Miller, the headman of the whole settlement, lies farthest to the southwest. About a half-mile northeastward, separated by intervening jungle, is the house clearing of Edwin. And perhaps three-quarters of a mile northeastward of Edwin's house lies the clearing for the houses of John Cook, Henry Daniel, John and Daniel. This arrangement of the several divisions of the community is reflected in the social positions of the members affected thereby.

103 As is the case with all Carib settlements on the Barama, Sawari takes its name from the creek where the people get their water supply. The Sawari Creek, so named from the numerous sawari-nut trees (*Caryocar Pekea tuberculosa*) which grow along its banks, flows south of Miller's clearing, passes east of Edwin's clearing, and empties into the Barama at a point almost directly north of the latter.

361 Outside contact at the time of my appearance at Sawari was maintained with the settlements of Haiari and Kwamata across the river, and with Kurewa, which lies about midway between [487] Sawari and Towakaima itself. (See Figure 1.) An old trail running southwestward to the higher settlements of the upper Barama had not been used for several years, and the Sawari Caribs were completely out of touch with those farther up the river.

484 This section of the country is unmapped, and reliable estimates of linear distances are impossible without instruments because of the meandering courses which both the jungle trails and the streams pursue. Consequently, distances are usually spoken of by the Indians in terms of the length of time required for a reasonably swift man to cover them. On this basis Haiari is three hours [361] distant, but men travelling with loads usually take at least five hours or half a day. Kwamata is about six hours. Kurewa is about twelve hours, a long day away.

177 361 The source of such European influence as exists in this region is Towakaima. On the left bank of the river, at a distance of about

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

177 during my stay in the settlement a visit was made by one Charles Bell, a negro prospector who was working alluvial gold near the settlement of Haiari, and it is not improbable that other negroes have visited the place. Therefore, the statement that Sawari had hitherto been spared the visit of a white man does not eliminate the fact that some European cultural influence has trickled through. However, continued and intensive contact must be present to affect radically the lives of these people who live in the depths of the forest; and at present only the shop and the Pestanos at Towakaima afford tangible media for these influences. John Miller, the headman of Sawari, spent three years in hospital and jail in Georgetown, as related later in this section. His contact with civilization seems to have had no important cultural effect on Sawari.

487 Towakaima may be reached from Sawari by any one of three different routes. First, in two days of fast hiking one can travel from Sawari to Towakaima by the trail through the bush south of the river. This trail passes through the settlement of Kurewa. My party, with eighty-pound loads on their backs, required two days and a half to negotiate the distance on a forced march. Second, by trail north of the river through the settlement of Kwamata, Towakaima may be reached, with loads, in two days or slightly less. And third, by river, two to six days are required, depending upon the height of the water. Coming up the river in the third week of December, with water at middle height, our party required six days.[1]

621 **Physical Plan of the Settlement.** Sawari comprises three residential districts or clearings, lying on an approximately straight, but imaginary line, running roughly northeast to southwest. I shall designate these three divisions in English as the Caribs do in their own language, John Miller's clearing, Edwin's clearing, and John Cook's clearing.[2] Figure 9 shows the general plan of the entire Sawari settlement.

Nearby Miller's clearing are three fields which are at present

[1] The official government map in the archives of the Department of Lands and Mines in Georgetown, a tracing of which was supplied to me through the kindness of the Hon. John Mullin, shows blank the territory of the upper Barama between the Anamu and Baramita Rivers. The course of the river as drawn is marked "supposed course of the Barama." During the river journey from Towakaima to Sawari the Harvard Expedition encountered river rapids of sufficient size to necessitate portaging the loads of the expedition's corials. These rapids, as well as the ranges of the hills which must be crossed on the Kwamata line, form effective barriers to more frequent intercourse.

[2] John Miller and John Cook say that they have been officially baptized by a missionary at Aranka. Other members of this settlement, as is the case with all the Caribs on the Barama, also have English names because of tabus which limit the use of their Carib names, even among themselves. For the sake of clarity the English names will be used here.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

in use, and two in the process of being cut. Edwin has an agricultural field in the clearing about his house and a newly cleared but unplanted field about a quarter of a mile northeast on the trail to the river. The houses of John Cook's group are set in a large newly planted field, a short distance from a recently abandoned agricultural clearing formerly used by Cook.

The clearing in which John Miller's and associated houses are located is elliptical in plan. Its largest axis, running north and south, measures two hundred and six feet. It is one hundred and thirty-six feet wide at point of greatest breadth. This open space in the jungle, of perhaps an acre, contains thirteen buildings.

In Figure 10 these buildings are designated by number. The normal use of the respective buildings is as follows.

Building	Use	Adult Occupants		Child Occupants (not yet pubescent)	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
1	Residence	Henry	Caroline		Margaret Elsa
2	Storehouse and workroom, formerly Miller's residence				
3	Drink house, shelters trough in which liquor is kept				
4	Residence	Samuel	Elizabeth		Katrina Mary
5	Residence	Miller	Mary Elizabeth Charlotte	Adolphus Charlie	Julia Christina Baby girl
6	Partly completed residence being built by Henry for Caroline				
7	Residence	Columbus			Susan
8	Residence	Joseph	Cecelia		Edna
9	Drink house				
10	Residence	David	Christina	Frederick	
11	Residence	Joseph			
12	Unoccupied				
13	Residence		Margaret		

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

621 162 342

Edwin's clearing is shown in Figure 11. It embraces three buildings, which are numbered on the Chart.

Adjoining Edwin's clearing to the north and northeast lie his fields. The area about his house, which is clear and unplanted, is roughly elliptical in shape and measures one hundred and thirty feet by ninety-five feet.

EDWIN'S CLEARING

Building	Use	Adult Occupants Male	Adult Occupants Female	Child Occupants Male	Child Occupants Female
14	Drink house sheltering liquor trough				
15	Small benab used as kitchen and as sleeping quarters for guests				
16	Residence	Edwin	Lulu	boy	girl girl girl

John Cook's is shown in Figure 12. It is the largest single clearing in the settlement, measuring nine hundred and fifty by six hundred and eighty feet. It is entirely planted with cassava and other crops, except for small areas around the seven buildings.

Sawari thus comprises a population of forty-seven individuals, of which twenty-six are adults and twenty-one children. Of the whole group, twenty are males, and twenty-seven females. There are thirteen men and seven boys; fourteen women and thirteen girls.

361 162

To my knowledge, there were in the winter of 1932–33 a total of thirty-three Carib settlements on the Barama (Fig. 1). Of these I visited twenty-seven. According to my estimates, they range in size of population from seven (Waikarabi) to about seventy (Aranka at full strength).

621

Consanguineal and Affilial Relationships The settlement of Sawari is typical of the Carib villages on the Barama except for

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

its greater relative isolation and freedom from outside influence. It lies in the region of the upper Barama which is out of the sphere of operations of the gold prospectors who come up the river from the Waini and the coast. On the other hand, it is out of touch with those settlements higher up the Barama, which have been culturally and physical influenced by contact with the residents

JOHN COOK'S CLEARING

Building	Use	Adult Occupants Male	Adult Occupants Female	Child Occupants Male	Child Occupants Female
17	Residence	Henry-Daniel	Mary		girl baby
18	Abandoned residence				
19	Residence	John	Rose	boy boy	
20	Drink house				
21	Store and utility house, former residence				
22	Residence	Daniel	Elsie		
23	Residence	John Cook	Laura	boy	girl

of Venezuela. Because, therefore, Sawari appeared to be relatively "pure" in regard to its culture and the physical type of its residents, it was chosen as the settlement to be most intensively studied.

In this section we are endeavoring to analyze the community life of Sawari as it was from December, 1932, to March, 1933, the period during which it was under my observation. The situation is taken as it stood, with little attempt at historical analysis, because of the paucity of historical material. I shall simply endeavor to illumine the functioning of social life in this village as a basis for

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

101 121 the understanding of Barama Carib social life in general. Carib life exhibits little institutionalism or formalism that is visible to the naked eye, little that is self-explanatory at first glance. What we desire to understand, therefore, are the factors which cause individuals to live together in a community, the factors which tend to disrupt the community, and the extent of compromise and methods whereby a balance is maintained between these opposing factors so that the stability of the group is maintained. We also wish to know how the life of the individual is enriched by community life and how the activities of the individual are coordinated with those of the group.

601 621 Let us first examine the blood relationships of the members of the settlement. In Figure 13 (at the end of the book) the blood connections of the several residents of Sawari are indicated. Here are given the English names of all individuals in the group who possess such designations, together with the terms of relationship used by Miller, the headman of the settlement, in addressing each individual. The relationship terms were checked through other men and women, and the blood lines were laboriously traced in pidgin English and through an interpreter. Even so, I am not satisfied that the chart completely represents the situation, inasmuch as one of the blood lines could not be traced satisfactorily with the linguistic resources at my command; and I am unwilling to project a geneology from the relationship terms alone. Therefore, the group of brothers composed of Samuel, Columbus, and Henry Daniel, lack precise antecedents in the chart. It was stoutly maintained that these three men came originally from another settlement and that they are distant cousins of Miller. The latter calls them pamúko, the term for male cross cousin, but I was unable to obtain a coherent explanation of the exact connection, so I have preferred to leave the connection indefinite in the chart. Since they are considered blood relatives by Miller and his group, I have so designated them on the chart.

On the chart are indicated five lines of blood relationship. Thus, Miller is demonstrably related by blood to twenty-five of the forty-seven members of the settlement (indicated by solid line); if we include the three above named brothers, Miller is the blood relative of twenty-eight members of the population. John Cook is the blood relative of six members of the settlement (indicated

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

by dash line). David is the blood relative of six members of the settlement (indicated by dot-dash line). Mary, the sister of Miller's deceased wife, is related by blood to seven individuals (indicated by dotted line). Christina, David's present wife, and her sister Margaret make up the fifth blood group (indicated by a line composed of dashes interspersed with two dots). Unconnected with these five blood groups are Rose, wife of John, and Lulu, the wife of Edwin.

Now it is certainly possible that all the members of this settlement are more or less distant blood relatives. According to the best estimates, the total Carib population of the Barama country does not exceed six hundred souls. The local traditions of the Indians state that their ancestors migrated into the Barama country from a former home around the head of the Corentyne River. Less than a hundred years ago, Schomburgk found a few Akawai villages on the Barama, apparently representatives of the tribe which formerly occupied the whole region and which at that time was in the process of being eliminated.[1] Even today the Barama Caribs express a feeling of antagonism toward the Akawais as a group, perhaps a survival of the rivalry between the two groups consequent upon the Carib usurpation of the area. On the basis of this evidence it would seem improbable that the ancestors of the present Caribs were in the Barama area much before two hundred years ago. And it would be conceivable that in some distant way most of the present living individuals are related by blood. However, the isolation of the settlements and the difficulties of travel in the region have in many cases erased the memory of such connections from the minds of the people, if in fact such connections actually existed. The important fact from the sociological point of view is that in many instances, as here at Sawari, individuals are not consciously aware of actual blood relationship with certain other individuals.

Reference to the preceding section will acquaint the reader with the kinship terminology. In checking this material I found that men applied the term pamuko (male cross cousin) not only to men who were known to be their cross cousins, but also to all men of the speaker's generation who were not known to be parallel cousins, men, that is, who were not considered actual blood rela-

[1] Schomburgk, 1922–23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. I, Chap. XI.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

601 tives. Analogous usage prevails in the case of takano (female cross cousin). The usage is comparable to our familiar application of the terms "brother" and "sister" to persons with whom we can trace no relationship. At the same time, an individual is always aware of those individuals with whom he can trace actual blood relationship. It is this loose usage of the terms for cross cousin which prevent one from projecting relationships on the basis of terminology alone. It also lessens the precision with which mar-
582 riages may be studied, because although in many of the cases which I investigated the mates turned out to be traceable cross cousins of closer or more remote degree, in other instances this was not the case. In other words, the terminology implies a positive rule that a cross cousin be chosen as the mate, as well as the negative rule that marriage must not be contracted with a parallel cousin. But in actual practice the negative rule is rigidly adhered to, whereas the positive rule is broadened so that eligible mates include all individuals of the opposite sex who are called cross cousins, whether or not the actual blood connection is known. Thus, at Sawari, Miller's present father-in-law, David, if the terminological implications of the system were carried out, should be either the brother of Miller's mother, or one of her male parallel cousins, or the husband of Miller's father's sister, or the husband of one of Miller's father's female parallel cousins. Both David and Miller were emphatic in stating that no such blood connection existed between them.

601 For practical purposes, then, we have five groups of blood rela-
● 621 tives at Sawari, whom we may designate respectively as Miller's
582 group (twenty-nine individuals), John Cook's group (seven individuals), David's group (seven individuals), Mary's group (eight individuals), and Christina's group (two individuals).

If we turn now to the affinal relationships we see that certain of the above-mentioned blood groups are interconnected by marriage. The several groups vary, however, in the direction of such contacts. Thus, John Cook's group is connected by marriage only with Miller's group, through the marriages of John Cook, Mary, Daniel, and Susan, all of whom married blood relatives of Miller. The John Cook group has no other connections. Christina's group is connected by marriage only to David's group, through the marriage of these two individuals. The Christina group has no other

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

connection. David's group is connected with Miller's group through the marriage of Miller and Elizabeth, with the Christina group through the marriage of Christina and David, and with Mary's group through the marriage of Cecelia and Joseph; but David's group has no connections with the John Cook group. Miller's group has direct connections by marriage with the Mary group through the marriage of Miller to Mary's deceased sister, with the David group by marriage of Miller and Elizabeth, and with the John Cook group by the marriages of Columbus, Elsie, Henry, and Laura; Miller's group, however, has no direct connection with Christina's group. Mary's group is connected with the Miller group by marriage of Miller and Mary's deceased sister, and with the David group by marriage of Joseph and Cecelia, but has no direct connection with the Christina group or John Cook's group.

To summarize, we find each of the five blood groups connected by marriage with one or more of the other blood groups. Miller's group is connected by marriage with three other groups; David's group is connected with three other groups; Mary's group is connected with two other groups; and Christina's and John Cook's each have only one such connection.

Let us now examine the number of individual marriage contacts each group has made with the other groups. Members of Miller's group are involved in ten marriages (including Miller's marriage to Mary's deceased sister). Six of these marriages involve members of three of the other four blood groups in the settlement; two marriages were made with outsiders whose blood groups are not otherwise represented in the settlement (Edwin and Lulu, John and Rose); two marriages were made within the Miller group (Samuel and Elizabeth, Henry and Caroline). Of the six marriages involving groups in the settlement other than Miller's, four were made with members of the John Cook group (Columbus and Susan, Elsie and Daniel, Henry Daniel and Mary, Laura and John Cook), one with David's group (Miller and Elizabeth), and one with Mary's group (Miller and Mary's sister). John Cook's group has made four outside marriages, all of them involving members of Miller's group. David's group has made three outside marriages, Mary's group has made two, and Christina's group one. These facts are tabulated in Table A.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

621 These blood groups in actual life have even less formalism than that with which they have been described here. They cannot be considered sibs, inasmuch as they include relatives on both the male and female sides.

It thus appears that both relationships by birth (that is, relationship by blood) and by marriage are important factors in determining the constitution and stability of the settlement.

621 768 Conversely, the termination of either of these types of relationship by death or, in the case of marriage only, by divorce, may tend seriously to disrupt the settlement. In the first place, death in a house always means its abandonment, along with the clearing in which it is situated. On the map will be noticed several "old settlements" containing tumble-down houses smothered in vegetation. These are overgrown clearings abandoned on account of death. One represents the residence which Miller abandoned upon the death of his first wife. The other is the residential clearing of one Willie, a former resident of Sawari, who, on the death of his wife, married a woman in Kurewa and settled in the latter village. It will be remembered that John Cook joined Sawari settlement on the death of his first wife.

586 The divorce of Caroline from her former husband, MacDonald, removed both of them from their former village of Kwamata. The divorce of Joseph (David's son) from his Kwamata wife removed him from that settlement and added him to the population of Sawari.

TABLE A

621 582 BLOOD RELATIONSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN SAWARI SETTLEMENT

	Blood Group					
	Miller	Cook	David	Mary	Christina	Total
1. Number	29	7	7	8	2	52*
2. Marriages	10	4	3	2	1	12**
3. Marriages into other blood groups in Sawari	6	4	3	2	1	
4. Marriages into groups outside Sawari	2	0	0	0	0	
5. Intra-group marriages	2	0	0	0	0	

* Eight children can each trace relationship to two blood groups because they are offsprings of intergroup marriages.

** There are actually twelve marriages in force in Sawari at present (counting Miller's marriage to Mary's deceased sister). In tabulating for each group the marriages involving its members, as in Row 2, the figures in some cases are duplicated because some of the marriages involved more than one group.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

Families and Households. We have already seen the distribution of the inhabitants among the several houses of the settlement, the location of the houses themselves in relation to each other, and the blood groupings within the settlement. I shall now describe briefly the organization of the settlement by families. 621

At the time this study was made there were eleven married groups living in the settlement. Although no elaborate marriage ceremony is practised, there is no doubt in the minds of the natives as to which persons are mated. The general pattern for marriage is described in the section on the Sociology of the Caribs. so I shall not repeat it here.

Miller, the headman, is at present married to Elizabeth, the daughter of David. Also living in his house are Charlotte, Elizabeth's sister, and Mary, the sister of Miller's deceased first wife. Elizabeth is young and buxom, handsome by Carib standards, and perhaps twenty-two years old. She has as yet given birth to no children by Miller, and this is the first formal marriage relationship into which she has entered. She is the only one of the three women whom Miller calls "puitu," wife. It is upon Elizabeth that Miller showers his most ostentatious affection; he boasts about her; when he goes on trips, for instance to Towakaima portering a load for me, he takes Elizabeth as his travelling companion in preference to his other two women. To her go the best of his earnings and trinkets; for example, of the presents which I made him from my stock of trade goods, the best cloth and the best beads were given by him to Elizabeth. And Miller desires children by the comely Elizabeth. During one month, for instance, he took occasion to draw my attention repeatedly to the protuberance of the Elizabethan abdomen, a condition which appeared to my unconcerned eye to be merely another example of the general "potbelliedness" almost universally observable in both sexes, but which Miller delighted in considering as evidence of pregnancy. Great was his eventual disappointment in discovering that his wife was again menstruating at the regular period. Miller and Elizabeth have been living together for about a year. 595

Old Mary and Charlotte also live in Miller's house. Mary is a middle aged woman, apparently beyond the child bearing age. She is the widow of a man formerly living at Haiari settlement. 587 595

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

554 He formerly lived in Kwamata, but moved to Sawari some years
791 ago, when the strength of Miller's influence became apparent there. At the present time he does no hunting, depending upon his sons and sons-in-law for meat supply. His present wife, Christina, was a widow when he married her. She has grown children elsewhere by previous marriages, but no children by David.

592 In a separate house near David's lives Margaret, Christina's sister, perhaps three to five years younger than the latter. She has lived with men, but at the time of my arrival in Sawari was unattached. The reason assigned for this by informants was her physical unattractiveness. However that may be, about a month after my arrival, David's son (by a previous marriage) Joseph appeared at Sawari, having been driven out of Kwamata by the irate brother of his wife with whom he had quarrelled there. It was not long until he had built a house near David's, and just before I finally left Sawari, arrangements had been made for Margaret to move into his new house with him. Also living in David's house is his young son Frederick, a boy of about twelve years of age.

Near David's house is the dwelling occupied by his daughter, Cecelia, and her husband, Joseph, and their little girl, Edna, about two years old. Cecelia is perhaps twenty years of age and the most attractive woman of the settlement from the white man's point of view. That her charms are not altogether unappreciated
[554] by the Caribs is evident. Joseph, who is her senior by perhaps three or four years, is recognized as the most accomplished fiddle player of the community, and in this capacity officiates at all drinking sprees.

554 In Miller's clearing, taken as a whole, we may thus distinguish
621 two local groupings. The southern half of the clearing is occupied by the respective families of Miller, his kinsman Columbus, and two sisters, Elizabeth and Caroline. In the northern half of the clearing, separated from the southern half by a low barrier of bushes, are the household of David and those of his son, his daughter, and his wife's sister. Thus, while Miller and his household seem to hold the dominant social position in the clearing, David is a very close second in prestige. The social life of the clearing is most strongly influenced by these two men, each in his own way. And their respective influences in the life of the clearing are to a

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

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621

certain extent reflected in the grouping of the households. Miller, as the dominant individual, occupies the largest house, which is placed nearest the center of the clearing. Grouped around him are the households of the clearing most closely linked to his by blood and marriage, the households in which presumably his influence is greatest. In a distinctly separate part of the clearing are grouped the households which in analogous ways are most influenced by David.

Reference to the preceding section on blood and marriage relationships will show that the households established in Miller's clearing are those among the households of the settlement having the closest connections with Miller by blood and marriage. Here are to be found the only representatives in the whole settlement of the respective blood groups of Miller's present and former wives. Here also are the only two households in the settlement formed by marriages in which both participants are members of Miller's blood group (Henry-Caroline, Samuel-Elizabeth). The location of the households above described and the composition of the population of this clearing, therefore, do not appear to be entirely accidental, but seem to hint at underlying factors in social organization.

Miller's clearing is a purely residential area. The fields belonging to the residents of this portion of the settlement are located at a distance of about half a mile to the northwest, as shown in Figure 9. The division of the field plots is explained later.

In John Cook's clearing, located about fifteen minutes walk distant, we have a collection of four married couples. The situation is somewhat less complicated here, inasmuch as Cook is unquestionably the dominant personality in his clearing. He is a gaunt man of probably forty years. He belongs to the same generation as Miller, and is probably about the same age. He formerly lived at the now abandoned settlement of Massewah, became a good friend of Miller, and joined Miller's settlement some years ago upon the death of his first wife. The motivation for his joining the Sawari settlement apparently grew out of his personal friendship with Miller, and as a result of this he married his present wife, a kinswoman of Miller. Cook's children by his former wife are dead, but by his present wife, Laura, a woman of about thirty years, he has a boy and a girl of about four and six respectively

1; Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

554 Shortly after my arrival in Sawari, friction between Cook and
●621 Miller, which had apparently been brewing under the surface for
578 some time, became evident. Miller, on several occasions during the course of cassiri sprees, picked quarrels with Cook and tried to induce the latter to fight him. Cook took the attitude that he could not be bothered with such petty disputes and went about his business unperturbed. As a result, during most of my stay in Sawari, Cook, and as a rule the residents of his clearing, stayed away from Miller's clearing. The residents of Miller's clearing finally refused to invite them to cassiri sprees, to which the residents of Cook's clearing responded by having cassiri sprees of their own to which the Miller residents were not invited. In this dispute Laura remained with her husband.

The only exception to this rule was Henry Daniel, a young man of perhaps twenty-one. He is the only man in Cook's clearing who has close relatives of his own sex in Miller's clearing. His brothers, Samuel and Columbus, live there, a fact which assured him of enough backing in the antagonistic atmosphere of Miller's clearing to make visits there bearable. His wife, Mary, a half-sister of Cook, is very young, perhaps eighteen, and during my stay in Sawari gave birth to her first child.

621 Daniel, a half brother of Cook, is a young fellow of about twenty-
554 two. He is Cook's closest cooperator in the settlement. They do everything together. Daniel's wife, Elsie, a cross cousin of Miller, is not more than seventeen or eighteen years of age. They have no children.

John, the head of the fourth household in Cook's clearing, is a distant parallel cousin of Miller. He is a man of about thirty-five, and his association with Cook is based on personal friendship.

Thus we see that three of the four households in Cook's clearing are related to him by blood, and one household is associated with him on the basis of personal factors. Of the seven individuals in Sawari belonging to Cook's blood group, six live with him in his clearing.

Cook's clearing is different from that of Miller in that it is not only a residential clearing but also an agricultural field. It is the largest open space in the Sawari neighborhood, measuring nine hundred and fifty feet by six hundred and eighty feet, and the whole clearing is not more than a year old. For some years Cook

: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

has lived here, while a short distance to the southeast of the present clearing lies his abandoned field. Only about a year previously did the other households which now occupy the clearing join with Cook, cooperate in the clearing of the present immense field, and take up their residences there. In this field each man has his own plot of ground, which his household cares for. But at the present time Cook's clearing has hardly yet become stabilized. The grouping of the houses here reflects no social division within the group itself, which is consistent with the fact that Cook's influence is supreme. Here the divisive factors of blood and personal prestige, which tended to set David's group apart from Miller's group in the latter's clearing, have practically no force. Cook's house, in the southeast corner of the clearing, happens to be the one which he has occupied for some years. The dwellings of the other households are scattered across the center of the field in easy access to their respective agricultural plots.

Our examination of household groupings thus far has given hints of divisive factors arising on the basis of blood, personality, and personal ability. The settlement itself is split into two large local groups, centering respectively about Miller and Cook. Miller's local group is further divided into two sections which center respectively about Miller and David. In each of these groupings there is a high correlation between the personal influence of the dominant character, his blood relationship with the members of the group centering about him, and the spatial grouping of the households concerned.

There remains the household of Edwin, located, as can be seen in Figure 9, about midway between the settlements of Miller and Cook. Oddly enough, Edwin's social position with reference to the two major local groups correlates remarkably with his spatial relation to them. Edwin is approximately the same age as Miller and Cook. He is a large man, easy going, capable, but given to excessive intoxication when the occasion presents itself. His wife, Lulu, is only slightly younger than he and has borne all his five children. Her blood relatives live at Towakaima and Sineparu. The oldest boy, Peter, is probably about sixteen years of age and is looking about for a wife. The oldest of the other four children is about eleven. Although Edwin is a distant parallel cousin of Miller, he divides his contacts equally between the latter

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

572 times assist each other in work, sometimes hunt together, and enjoy each other's conversation and company.

572 621 Friendship is, however, a factor in the formation and stability of the settlement. Thus, Cook's original presence in Sawari was due to his friendship with Miller. A weakening of that relation gave rise to Cook's removal of his residence away from the near vicinity of Miller, the gathering of a group of families around him, and to the eventual rift between the two clearings. John's presence in Cook's settlement evidently is due simply to mutual liking on the parts of the two men. Edwin has a close friend named William in the settlement of Kurewa, and this friendship is doubtless to some extent responsible for the intermediate position which Edwin's family enjoys in the social life of Sawari.

I found no evidence that the friendships between women had any dynamic effect on social groupings in this settlement. Women's friends here, as elsewhere on the Barama, are the result of residence or contiguity determined by other factors.

561 **Age and Sex.** Well defined age groups are not present in Carib society. Girls are secluded at their first menstruation and are exhorted on the duties and conduct becoming to an adult woman by their older female relatives at this time, but without ceremony. This is the only special recognition taken of age changes. Nevertheless, as among all societies which do not formalize the age boundaries, informal recognition is taken of children, youths, adults, and old people.

895 583 Although not stated in so many words, an individual is not considered a full-fledged member of society until he is married. For instance, an underlying conception of this sort seems to motivate the proof of adulthood which is required of a man before the first marriage, and which takes the form of tests of fitness. (This seems at least as large a factor in the housebuilding, field-cutting, and hunting requirements demanded from the groom by his father-in-law as the factor of payment for the bride. Such tests are not required of a man at his subsequent marriages.) A woman's ability to care for a house and field, which is proven to the community after marriage, is apparently demanded before she is accepted as a full-fledged member of the female community. Also, both sexes assume certain responsibilities toward each other and toward the community at marriage (self-sustenance for their

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

the going is good." I know of one man on the Barama who has been ejected from six consecutive settlements in this way, so that he has become a permanent outcast. 626

It is apparent that the great majority of punishments are handled by individuals. The tendency is to carry out the retaliation as secretly as possible. But why this bashfulness and fear of coming out into the open when settling accounts with a wrongdoer? The Caribs, when questioned directly, reply that secrecy prevents further reprisals and also prevents the culprit from protecting himself against a deserved punishment. I believe that the social function of keeping these matters under cover is to prevent rifts from reaching the surface, so to speak, and thus splitting the group apart. A Carib group lacks strong central authority of any kind. In the absence of adequate political, judicial, or police authority, secretive methods of punishment have evolved as the only possible means of enforcing the "law" without destroying group life. When a man sets out to punish an offense he usually attempts to keep his activities secret, not only from the object of his punishment, but also from other members of the settlement. Only rarely is open violence resorted to or are other members of the group, such as relatives, admitted to the case. 627 182 621

It may be asked, however, if the looseness of the group is not due to the unorganized condition of the legal and penal programs. It is obvious that the absence of a socialized or public method of determining guilt, such as a court, leaves many of the antagonisms in society uncomposed. It is true that cases which come out into the open and are punished openly, such as the killing of the adulterer, appear before the court of public opinion. But many grievances, as we have seen, are handled secretly, and the guilt of certain parties is often based only on suspicion. In such cases punishment may fall on innocent parties, who naturally take offense and retaliate. Consequently, the solidarity of the group is likely to suffer.

Ignoring the theoretical question as to the relative effect of external as compared with internal conditions on the institutions of a society, I believe that in the case of the Barama Caribs external environmental and political factors have played the preponderant part in molding the institutions of this society as they

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

621 exist at present. In this region a hunting, fishing, and agricultural
627 life restricts the size of the group and isolates it. Only a small
182 group with a wide territory about it can exist, if the people are to have sufficient animal food. Furthermore, the available crop-raising soil in any one spot will support only a small population, because of the fact that cassava requires a drained sandy loam, a type of soil which is found only in small and widely scattered areas in the jungle. This soil, even when located, will, however, produce only two good crops, after which the field must be abandoned and a new one cut, making the disposition of the fields and the membership of any given settlement unstable. Even the term of existence of the settlement itself is usually limited. Hunting operations as carried on here also make for social instability and individuality, because hunting can be done most successfully by one man and seldom in parties of more than four. It is also often necessary for a man to be away from home for several days following game, and since whenever possible a Carib takes his wife and children with him when he is away over night, this factor also contributes to the looseness of the established group.

177 Even so, it seems that a stronger organization than the present
621 was formerly maintained for purposes of war and defense. Since the early part of the nineteenth century, however, the European political control of the colony has succeeded in repressing intertribal warfare. With their cultural background, therefore, the Caribs have found environmental conditions and exterior political conditions unfavorable to the development of political power and group solidarity. As a consequence, I think, legal, judicial, and penal institutions which otherwise would support such a solidarity, show little formal development.

RELIGION

776 **Supernatural Beings.** The Carib world is jointly inhabited by human beings and a number of supernatural powers. There are two kinds of supernatural beings, spirits and ghosts. The former are independent beings or powers, the latter represent the souls of dead human beings. (Spirit, akuru; ghost, yumbupa akasang.) The supernatural beings of the first class, which we will call spirits, inhabit the land, the water, the air, and at some time

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

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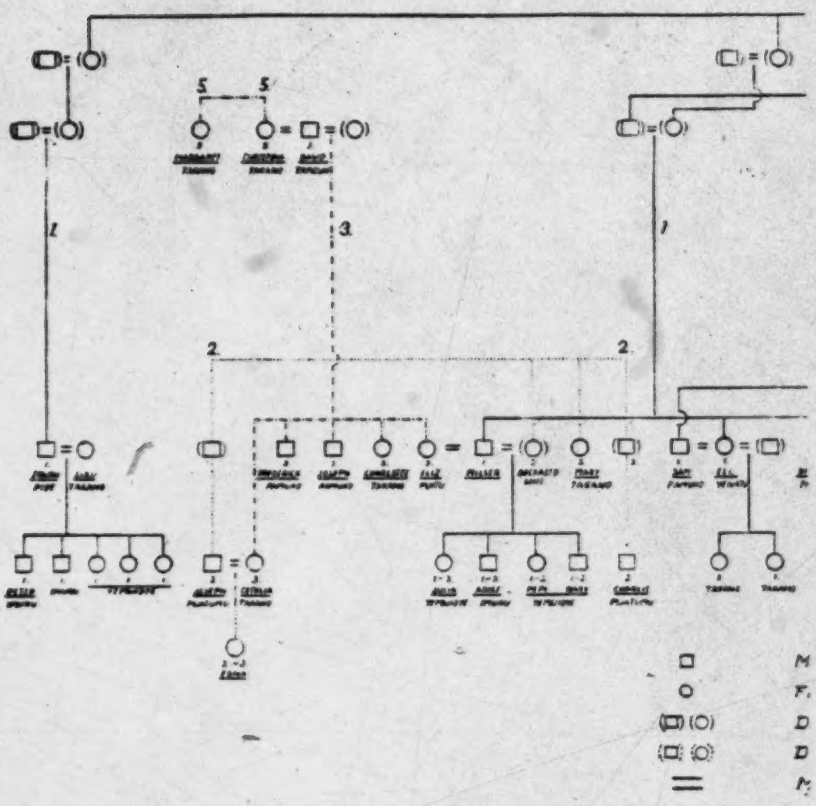

FIGURE

Diagram of blood relationship at Sawari settlement. Each living person
ler's group; 2. Mary's group; 3, David's group; 4. John Cook's group;
tinguished as follows: solid line, Miller's group; dotted line, Mary's gro
dots and dash, Christina's group. Christian name of each individual is
term used by Miller in referring to or addressing the individual.

[Figure 13 (1). following end plate 39]

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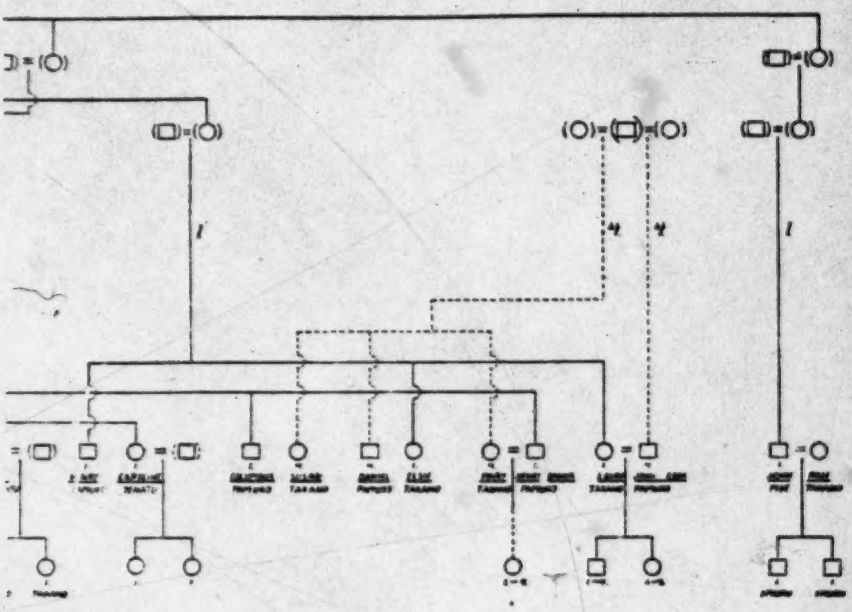

FIGURE 13

ag person labelled with number of his lineage or relationship group: 1, Mil- 's group; 5, Christina's group. Connecting lines showing relationship are dis- Mary's group; dots and dashes, David's group; dashes, John Cook's group; two ividual is underlined. Directly under the Christian name is the relationship

[figure 13 (2); following end plate 30]

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

III

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND POPULATION SIZE

From 1932 to the present, the core of Carib people who have remained in the Upper Barama River area have been recruited from the indigenous population.[1] The continuity of the 1970-71 population with that existing in the Upper Barama River area during 1932-33 is readily apparent. First, one person in present at both time periods. Charlotte[2] was an adolescent wife of John Miller, the headman of Sawari, when Gillin made his study (1936:118). She is now a widow in her late fifties and lives with her two daughters and son-in-law at the Air Strip. Charlotte's son by Adolphus Miller, who took her as a wife when his father died, is also present. Two other children of John Miller, a son and a daughter whose mother was Charlotte's sister also are in residence at the Air Strip. These relationships are summarized in Figure 5.

Tracing the continuity in a different manner, Rosa Jacob is about sixty years old and is a prominent resident at the Air Strip. She can recall a kinship relationship to all of the other residents. She is a cross cousin to John Miller, his father's sister's daughter. Of course, all of these people except Rosa are deceased. Exact relationships among all individuals in the population cannot be established as memories are shallow regarding kinship. Nevertheless, it can be safely assumed that all members of the Upper Barama River Carib

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 38]

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

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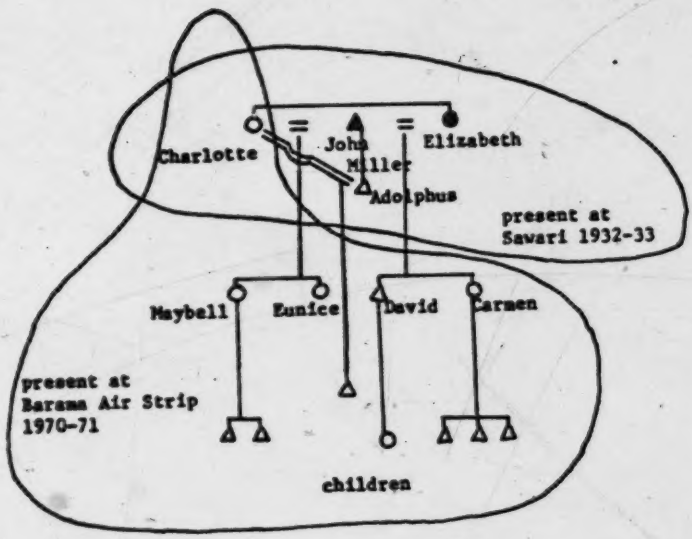

Figure 5. Offspring of John Miller among the Current Population.

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

IV

MARKET OPPORTUNITIES: REGIONAL NETWORKS OF EXCHANGE

Over time, the subsistence economy of the Upper Barama River Caribs has been supplemented by various regional markets. As a consequence, the common material exchanges that serve the Upper Barama River Caribs as a population have changed. An increasing extralocal involvement in regional networks of exchange has been added to a local adaptation to the rain forest, and new resources have been made available to this population.

During Gillin's study in 1932-33, subsistence resources were derived primarily from the natural environment. The similar nature of the local adaptations of the Carib settlements dispersed along the Upper Barama River corridor has been discussed. There was no apparent basis for specialization and trade among settlements. Within each settlement, material property was individually owned. A man owned his clothing, field, house, hunting and fishing equipment, canoe, tools, and the game he caught (Gillin 1934:335). A woman owned her clothing, implements for working in the field and house, including pottery and basketry (although basketry was exclusively made by the men in their household). All tools were usually manufactured by the individual owning them or someone in their household. Within settlements, food was distributed, tools were shared, and assistance rendered in the activities of making a living in the bush.

*177 439 Throughout the time period under consideration, commercial trade goods have been incorporated, mostly by way of substitution for their [412] local equivalent. Axeheads, cutlasses, knives, iron griddle pans, [415] cotton cloth, and shotguns reached the population in varying degrees [175] at the time of Gillin's study (1934:332). These trade goods did not lose their popularity. They have been added to by other external resources and their quantity and availability have been increased. [163] Eventually, a flow of external goods and services into the Upper [161] Barama River area has resulted in an increased birth rate and an [511] increasing population size, an improved standard of living, and [62] changes in the social organization of the population.

*177 175 443 [484] However, markets have been introduced and controlled by external agents. As has already been explained, the Upper Barama River Caribs do not have easy access to regional markets. They do not travel to transact regional exchanges. Rather, they have depended on the opportunities provided by non-Carib middlemen who reside in the Upper Barama River area and who have good access to the limited transportation and communication facilities. As characteristic of the conveyance of regional exchanges into remote areas, market opportunities have been highly personalized. This was characteristic of the early period of porknocking activities and the existence of the gold [657] companies. Personalized market networks continue to be associated with government programs and services at Baramita Air Strip.

*177 195 437 439 Market Opportunities Provided by the Early Gold Seekers

The earliest regional exchanges reported for these Caribs involved

175 342 (Gillin 1936:31-9). As a house became dilapidated, it would be used for cooking or storage purposes, and a new one built to support the hammocks of the various members of the household.

175 584 [582] Preparatory to a marriage, a young man was required to cut a field and build a house nearby and pass a hunting test given by the bride's family. This appears to have been a formality that finalized an agreeable relationship among all concerned (Gillin 1936:74-75).

175 591 [606] At first, the young husband resided with his wife's family. During this time he cooperated actively with his wife's father and other male relatives still in the household. Expressive of the temporary nature of the extension of the family, the young man rendered his father-in-law deference, usually not talking to him directly but [851] through his daughter. This period of matrilocal residence generally would end soon after the birth of a first child (Gillin 1936:97). The newly established household was then an autonomous unit.

175 476 571 621 [462] As for the cooperation among households, this principally involved men's activities, farm cutting, hunting, canoe building, house constructing, and the like. In these instances, cooperation is not necessary, but rather expedient. As a result, patterns of cooperation lacked permanence and explicitness. Friendships among men seem to have been the basis for recruiting work partners. Women cooperated as well, but their friendships had no consequences in social organization (Gillin 1936:136). The adult men moved their households about [592] freely to enter into associations with other men from households in the vicinity. In general, cooperation developed among "brothers," actual siblings and parallel cousins (Gillin 1936:97), and these 175 476 593 605 [591] kinsmen tended to settle near each other.

175 476 593 605 [621] kinsmen tended to settle near each other. At times such as during the field days held for poisoning a creek for fish, all the men and women in one location would cooperate (Gillin 1936:11-12). Gillin reports that the extent of mutual cooperation among "parallel kinsmen" made these stronger bonds than that between a man and his son-in-law (1936:97), and aggregations of their households composed a settlement such as Savari.

175 592 621 [595] At the time Gillin visited Savari, it was composed of three clearings or aggregations of cooperating households. The largest of these, John Miller's clearing, included seven adult men (1936:117-125). Miller, about forty, was prominent among them. He had had a previous marriage but currently had a new young wife and was acquiring her younger sister as well. His father-in-law was an old man, David. Two of Miller's widowed sisters had recently attracted into the group two brothers, Henry and Samuel. Their other brother, Colombus, with his child bride was also present. Two young men, Joseph, a son-in-law of David, and Joseph, a son of David, completed the group of men.

175 476 621 All of these had apportioned plots in a field Colombus and Miller had originally cut and David and his son Joseph had enlarged. The temporary partnership in fields was dissolving as the newcomers to Savari were establishing fields of their own (Gillin 1936:134). Other mutual assistance such as hunting and canoe building was conducted between various men in this clearing and those in the other clearings on an individual basis according to the inclinations and the sway of influence to which each man was subjected.

175 John Cook was probably the same age as Miller (Gillin 1936:125-8).
571 Several years ago upon the death of his first wife, he was attracted
159 to Sawari out of his friendship with Miller. He consequently took a
• 621 kinswoman of Miller as a wife.[1] As Cook became established in Sawari, he attracted men in his own right. As he did so, his friendship and cooperation with Miller waned. Expressive of this rift is their discontinued participation in a common cassiri spree,[2] the one form of public activity including ritualized behavior. During Gillin's visit, Cook's group ceased attending Miller's cassiri sprees but held their own. In addition to Cook, there were three men in his clearing. These included his half-brother Daniel and his half-sister's husband, Henry Daniel, who is also a fourth brother to the group of three in Miller's clearing. Also, a man named John, about thirty-five, had moved his household to Sawari on the basis of his friendship with Cook. All of these men together had cleared a field and had the use of respective plots in it.

The third clearing was that of a single man, Edwin, who was also a contemporary of Miller and Cook. Edwin farmed by himself. However, indifferent to the enmity between Miller and Cook, he assisted both of them at times with other tasks such as constructing a cassiri kanu and a woodskin boat. Gillin suggests that Edwin's failure to attract a group around him is due to his lack of leadership qualities (1936:127-128). It is also clear that Edwin at this point in time does not have the same advantage as Miller and Cook regarding marriageable female relatives with whom to negotiate these satellites. His oldest child was a male about sixteen. His other children were daughters under twelve years of age.

daughters under twelve years of age.

As is apparent, a man's position in a settlement was in part the result of his human capital of female relatives, sisters and daughters, and how he used these to attract men around him. However, a son-in-law was only a temporary dependent. In contrast, the associational bonds that developed between cooperating parallel kinsmen had no definite time span. There occurred varying degrees of cooperation as well as numbers of men involved, the only limit to the relocation of a household being the several months needed for a field to begin to be productive. However, in the context of the cooperation among related kinsmen, a general pattern emerges with regard to a man's life career. Except for old David, all the men in Sawari were younger than Miller, Cook, and Edwin. These three men, at about age forty, were no longer dependents as the younger men were, but were established in their own clearings. They were having different success attracting young men according to the contingencies of available female relatives as well as their personal qualities. When their energies and human capital were becoming exhausted, they again would be dependent members in a settlement, much as old David.

Such dispersed settlements, which fluctuated in size from about fifteen to fifty individuals, constituted the largest social unit (Gillin 1936:141). Within settlements, there was no differential access to local subsistence resources. Individual men who were shamans or sorcerers privately owned knowledge and magical skills, but this had little effect on their participation in the subsistence routine. A headman was recognized in each settlement (John Miller in

175 622 A headman was recognized in each settlement (John Miller in Savari), but his authority rested on his influence. Aspects of personality, the number of relatives, as well as physical strength were factors in the choice of headman. Although the duties of headman lacked definition, for the most part they involved coalescing group opinion and action. All of this was done informally. Group action 175 627 would be taken against individuals who threatened the pattern of sharing resources and rendering assistance within the settlement. Ostracism, exile, or, more rarely, violence would be employed (Gillin 1934:337).

175 [648] [701] [622] At this time, the Upper Barama River Caribs constituted an indigenous population within a British colony. In this colonial environment, there was no organization among these Caribs for war or defense which would compel leadership (Gillin 1934:344). Dispersed in the 175 628 rain forest, remote from the center of European power, there was no other basis for unity among this population. Before extensive regional trade and a money economy were introduced by the mining companies, these dispersed settlements tended to be closed with regard to patterns of obtaining and sharing subsistence resources. Exchanges among settlements involved shifts of personnel. Increasingly, the * 177 • 621 boundary of the resource sharing social unit has become constricted within the larger, more stabilized settlements around centralized networks of regional exchange.

Organization for Gold Mining

* 177 592 464 In addition to centralizing settlements, employment and other market opportunities provided by gold mining activities from 1940 to

*177 464 592 structurally nascent family. Rather, the family became extended and the son-in-law or son and their wives and children remained as part of the family group.

*177 464 592 ● 621 The residence pattern during the period of Amerindian employment by Baird reflects these strategies. During November 1969, just before In Time was abandoned, a survey of the residents in the area is available. In the close vicinity of the mine there were eight clearings. Three more were located nearby at Big Creek. The adult male residents and their kinship and work relationships are presented in Table 12. The kinship affiliations of all of these men are detailed in Figure 12.

In 1969, the residents of one clearing had recently moved to the Air Strip. This was the household of Baird's father-in-law. It was composed of an older man, sixty-five, and his son-in-law, thirty, and his son, twenty-five, along with their wives and children. These men had been steadily employed in Baird's mining activities.

Due to the difficulties which later closed the mine, temporary work had not been available for some time. Thus, the men remaining in residence had been steady workers for Baird. There is one exception. This is the largest clearing at Big Creek (cluster 11 in Figure 12), which is composed of a man, his two sons-in-law, and his son. Of this group, some were steady workers. Others were sporadic workers who maintained a subsistence cultivation in the bush. At this point in time, the larger number of men in one clearing also adds to an ambiguity with regard to identifying the household boundary and is indicative of transient aspects of organization common with fluctuating resources.

TABLE 12

RESIDENCE AND KINSHIP AND WORK RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MINERS, 1969

Residential Group	Estimated Ages of Men	Relationships	Years of Employment with Baird
(In Time)			
1.	55	father	over 15
	25	son	over 6
2.	75	father	previously ca. 10
	40	son	ca. 4
3.	65	man	never employed
	35	son-in-law	ca. 16
4.	50	father	ca. 15
	30	son	ca. 2
	25	son	ca. 6
5.	60	father	ca. 12
	30	son	ca. 10
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
6.	50	father	ca. 15
	30	son	ca. 10
	30	son-in-law	ca. 10
7.	30	man	ca. 8
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
8.	35	man	ca. 12
	25	brother-in-law	ca. 6
(Big Creek)			
9.	45	man	ca. 16
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
10.	25	Baird's son	steadily employed
11.	50	father	previously ca. 1
	30	son-in-law	ca. 10
	25	son-in-law	ca. 2
	20	son	previously ca. 1

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

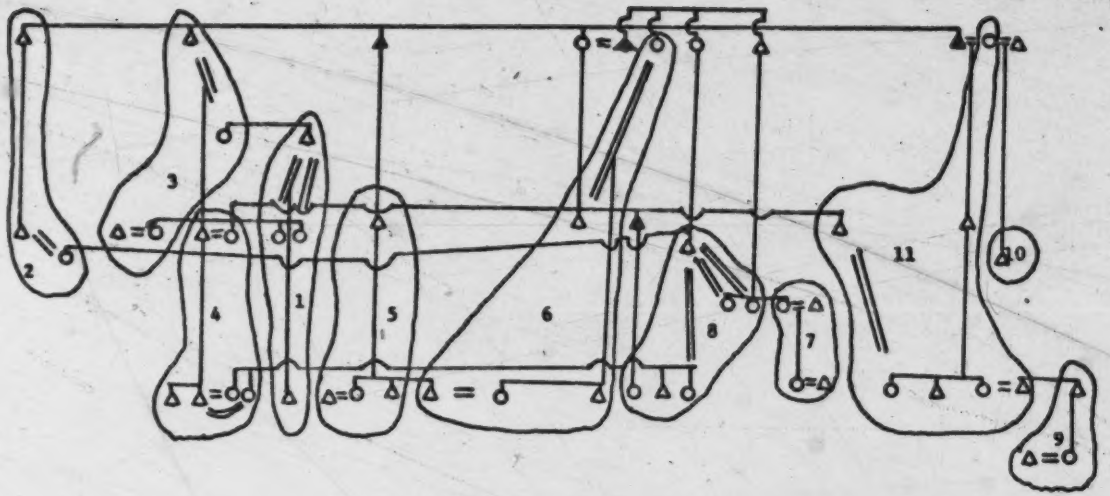

Figure 12. Kinship Relationships and Cooperative Boundaries among the Carib Men Residing near In Time and at Big Creek, 1969.*

*Only the most immediate kinship relationships are detailed, although wider affiliations add much more complexity. Accordingly, wives are only represented when they are links in the relationships among these men.

*177 361 [476] 121 the retention of father and son and son-in-law bonds among workers, as well as by the centralization around the air strip. Temporary cooperation to aid relatives in settling in a new location is also a factor in the current residence situation. At this time little analysis can be made of the life cycles of family groups or of individuals. Data are available only on the first year of the resettlement around the air strip, a time of considerable change in the extent and nature of the external resources available in the Upper Barama River area. Family organization is responding to these new circumstances.

*177 464 The population in the satellite settlements, Baramita and Aranka, has had a different experience with the regional economy. Among these segments of the population, men have had little or no employment. The headman of Aranka worked about five separate one-year periods in his youth with porknockers. Another man from Aranka worked for two years at In Time while living with his father. Now he is one of the headman's sons-in-law. Also, men from Aranka have been employed from time to time by the Malaria Eradication Officer. For the most part, the populations in these settlements have maintained a subsistence [438] adaptation to the rain forest. Their livelihoods have been supplemented by selling small amounts of local provisions for commercial items at the trade store.

*177 592 621 The residence patterns in these satellite settlements are somewhat different and they also differ from that characteristic of the households at the Air Strip. At Baramita in 1971, there were five clearings. One was inhabited by a man and wife and their children. Two others were nuclear families recently extended by the addition of

sons-in-law. The fourth consisted of a man, about fifty, his wife and children and his old father and mother. Lastly, one man, also about fifty, has had his father-in-law with two adult sons and all their wives and children move into his cultivated field. This last residence situation had persisted for about two years when the Amerindian Captain called attention to it as a case of excessive exploitation.

Aranka, on the other hand, is outstanding in that one man maintains five wives who have had, to date, thirty-six children. He is the center of one large clearing with his various fathers-in-law and sons-in-law around him. In addition, two new clearings of Karisho people were being established at Aranka in the spring of 1971. One was inhabited by a nuclear family, another by a nuclear family extended by the wife's old father and his crippled wife. A young man who is deaf and dumb and moves about from relative to relative was also living in this last clearing. He is the old man's brother's son. To some extent, this residence pattern is the result of the abbreviation of the continual movement of households due to the advantageous location near the center of external resources, and the market opportunities at this center have tended to dissolve the ties of general reciprocity between men in different clearings as will be discussed at a later point.

The residence situation at the Air Strip is more complex than that in either satellite settlement. The households of previous miners and households from the more remote areas have moved there. Currently, there are twenty clearings. Their general locations

*177 592 • 621 around the air strip are diagramed in Figure 13. House structures[4] continue to be located in cultivated fields in which the resident adult men have apportioned sections. The composition of these clearings illustrate different stages of a man's career recruiting sons-in-law, different employment experiences, and different temporary cooperative arrangements. Accordingly, these twenty clearings can be divided into three categories.

The most simple of these categories consists of a single household comprising two generations. The husband-father is mature enough so that he is no longer a dependent in another's clearing. Also, he has not been a partner in an employment situation in the last several [595] years. He has either one or two wives. In either case, his children [582] are not yet adults. However, with no other context for recruiting assistance, the oldest daughter in these households becomes a wife [591] comparatively young, as early as seven years of age. The son-in-law joins the household. For brief periods, the young couple may reside temporarily with the boy's parents. There are five examples of this type of household.

The second type of household at the Air Strip is more complex and is represented by nine cases. In each case, there are three generations present. Yet the household is still coterminous with the clearing. In seven cases, employment, either sporadic or more permanent, has resulted in the extension of the family to include either an adult son or son-in-law and his wife or wives and children. Other adult sons and daughters have left the household. Daughters in the third generation may be young wives themselves, but they are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 114]

not mature enough to have children. Two other clearings are inhabited by households of this type that have moved in from the more remote settlements. In both cases, the families of a man and his son-in-law have moved as a unit to the Air Strip.

The third category is still more complex. In these cases, larger numbers of people are present which contributes to the ambiguity of household divisions. Four of these larger groups of relatives in a common clearing are clearly the result of the abandonment of the mine and the occurrence of new resources at the Air Strip. Kinsmen are temporarily allied for the move to the Air Strip from the mine as well as from the more remote areas. These kinship groups are laterally extended. In two cases they are composed of the nuclear families of brothers as well as their sons and sons-in-law. In two other cases, the sons and sons-in-law of a single man and all their wives and children are residing together. Among these groups, component units of a man and his wife and children often left on extended trips either to a more remote settlement or to Matthew's Ridge. Usually, this was because agricultural fields around the air strip were not yet productive.

The two remaining examples in the third category are the clearings of the current Captain and the prominent Councillor. The Councillor is about fifty and has three wives of different ages. His household includes an adult son-in-law and son and his wives and children. In addition, an old porknocker long resident among the Upper Barama River Caribs lives in the Councillor's clearing. Holding office has served to extend the household of the current

Holding office has 115
served to extend the household of the current
*177 592 622 621 Captain. He is about fifty and has two wives, one of whom he married as a widow and one who is very young. Extra adult members have been added by including a daughter of the older wife, and a daughter and granddaughter of the Captain's stepmother. They have all brought a [428] son-in-law into this extended household. In this last case, as in all these residential arrangements, there is no promise of inheritance or other legacy beyond the situation to hold extended households together.

*177 592 621 [596] External resources have resulted in centralized settlements within which kinship groups residing in different clearings tend to be closed resource-sharing social units. For the most part, the clearings are inhabited by single households composed of extended families. In no case are individuals or young, childless couples living alone. Co-residence may be considered an index of extended cooperation and sharing of resources. Men who reside in the same clearing have partnerships in cultivated fields which along with hunting and gathering and occasional employment are the major sources of subsistence since the closing of the gold mine. The pattern of more extended reciprocity which existed prior to the availability of external resources has been changed. No longer is there any marked occurrence of the exchange of assistance among groups of men who are brothers or parallel cousins. In the cases in which adult brothers are in co-residence, usually their father is also present. Men in much more circumscribed relationships; i.e., father, son, son-in-law, now tend to cooperate in securing subsistence from local as well as external resources. Within the pattern of trans-generational recruitment,

*177 43 sold between clearings, and although not conducted through trade store channels, prices are those in use at the trade store. Rates of exchange for food and craft items not carried in the trade store tend to be much more variable. Also, food payments for labor services tend to vary. When money is used, the rate is usually identical with payments made for government employment. The extent of these local transactions is not great. Yet they, along with the absence of [221] general reciprocity, demonstrate the tendency for households in different clearings to be closed with regard to sharing resources. Obviously, there now exists differential access to money or local *177 463 resources on a situational basis. This contrasts to the lack of economic specialization among the population prior to the introduction of the gold mining companies and the more sustained difference among miners and nonminers during the existence of gold enterprises.

*177 476 464 During 1970-71, exchanges for short term labor involved both groups and individuals. The kaiyap or group work day is a recent innovation among the Upper Barama River Caribs. It has only occurred at the Air Strip and has been exclusively attended by Air Strip residents. During the year of field work, few men were sufficiently comfortable with the resources they commanded to exchange days of work with others. Consequently, the kaiyap has taken a special form. Four kaiyaps were held by three men, including the Captain. For each, a group of about twenty men worked during the morning to clear [293] a field. They were served cassiri in the field, and after work, they had a meal at the house of the man sponsoring the kaiyap. Then, the remainder of the cassiri was consumed in a convivial atmosphere

*177 159 323 she is a dependent widow and lives with her two daughters and son-in-law in his father's clearing. Her pots are particularly noted for being lopsided, making them easy to identify. She was the first to attempt to locate a suitable clay source at the Air Strip. She makes only tuluvas and has sold four at the Air Strip. Three were sold for the use of the mother of the man in whose clearing she resides and one for his sister.

*177 432 159

*177 593 431 The only cases in which pots were presented as gifts between clearings involve exchanges between mother and adult daughter. These are actual mother and daughter pairs. Classificatory relatives are not included. These gifts were made in four cases during the period of observation and are an aspect of the sustained generalized reciprocity between mother and adult child in different clearings. Exchanges between mother and adult son usually involve food. However, these exchanges are not formalized in any way and they do not always occur between specific mother and child pairs.

*177 592 [621] In sum, the pattern of cooperation among adult individuals residing in the same settlement has been eroded by the introduction of wage work, other markets, and a money economy. The household composed of an adult man and his wife or wives and children remains the primary cooperative economic unit. However, the household has been extended in various instances to include the adult son or son-in-law and their families. The sustained flow of mutual assistance among a wider circle of kinsmen no longer exists as a common pattern.

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*177 406 624 There is one exception to this pattern which has relevance only in its situational context. As the miners re-established bush farms,

of external resources. Larger numbers of people have come to live near each other without immediate cooperative bonds. Visiting commonly takes place during *cassiri* sprees which now last a number of hours rather than the several days reported by Gillin (1936:65). Among neighbors, contacts depend on the inclination and personalities of the people involved. This aspect of community life is foreshadowed in the school experience[7] of the children. They are brought together in age categories to learn, play, and form relationships on an associational basis. More permanently settled in centralized locations, the Upper Barama River Carib population has become organized as a local, small-scale society within the overarching national political economy.

However, the resource base on which this population depends remains fluid. For the majority of people, external resources are not reliable. Thus, agriculture in rain forest soil remains a prerequisite for permanent settlement. The encapsulation of this population relative to transportation and communication networks and the lack of resource-storing mechanisms have already been discussed. As a consequence, the Upper Barama River Carib population utilizes all resources for the subsistence they provide. Institutional elaboration among this population is absent. Instead, the household, albeit changed in composition in some cases, has remained the primary cooperative social unit. It is the smallest unit capable of securing a livelihood in the ubiquitous rain forest. Such organization has been maintained throughout the flux in regional contacts and external resources. The continued emphasis on the individual within the household context is reflected in the kinship system.

been considered.

To summarize, the extent of generalized reciprocity and, conversely, immediate exchange involving labor and material goods have been used to identify resource-sharing social units among the Upper Barama River Carib population. Over time, the resource-sharing boundaries have changed. In a position of relative isolation in the rain forest when Gillin studied them, the Upper Barama River Caribs evidence no pattern of material exchanges outside the settlement. This was a social unit fluctuating in location, size of population, as well as life span. Within settlements, further organization consisted of clearings and, within clearings, households. People resident in settlements tended to consist of a category of cooperating kinsmen. Among them, the exchange of labor and the sharing of tools and food was patterned on a generalized basis. Since the introduction of wage employment and other regional markets, the population has become centralized by participation in common regional networks of exchange. Settlements have tended to become more permanent and larger in population size. Households have tended to become separated from ties of generalized reciprocity with a wider kinship group. Exchanges directly between Carib households are now conducted with money or other immediate payments. However, there are no permanent stores of resources to support corporate organization or other institutional elaboration, and this population has been politically organized only to the extent that a local administrative structure has been imposed.

Among the Upper Barama River Caribs, aspects of the regional networks of exchange have promoted certain kinship ties and dissolved others.